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ignominy all that he says in commendation of it. Referring to the repudiation of the convention of Saratoga, he says: "To come off second best in a bargain has never been to the taste of Americans; but on this occasion their national word had been sacredly pledged, and their government was under an obligation to abide by it. . . . The violation of the Saratoga Treaty remains as a blot on the lustre of the American revolution." A treaty can not be violated before it is ratified. The national word could not have been broken, because it was never pledged. Burgoyne should have known and considered that Gates could not guarantee anything but the conditions under which his army should march out, and give itself up. That Gates more than fulfilled this part of his agreement is amply attested by the author and other historians.

The transactions by which Beaumarchais furnished arms, clothing and other supplies to the Americans, and the negotiations which led to the Franco-American alliance, make an absorbing story of French duplicity and fatuity, followed by retribution.

"That million of francs", says Sir George, "by the judicious and timely disbursement of which the French Ministry had hoped to inflict a mortal injury on the British power with small cost and danger to themselves, had grown before the affair was finally settled, into a war expenditure of something very near a milliard and a quarter; and the royal government of France, which had stooped to such unroyal practices was submerged in an ocean of bankruptcy where it was destined miserably to perish. That was what came of an attempt to fight England on the cheap."

Frederick the Great is credited with shrewd statesmanship and clever diplomacy in playing France off against England and preserving the neutrality of Prussia.

The military narrative is supplemented with three outline maps which assist the reader in following the movements of the troops. There are three appendixes, consisting of two letters and an anecdote about Franklin.

JOHN BIGELOW, JR.

Millard Fillmore Papers. In two volumes. [Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, volumes X., XI., edited by FRANK H. SEVERANCE, Secretary of the Society.] (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society. 1907. Pp. xlv, 445; xiii, 569.)

THE Buffalo Historical Society has honored the memory of its most distinguished member by publishing the collected writings of Millard Fillmore in two stout volumes under the careful editing of Mr. Severance. Beside the Fillmore Papers there are biographical introductions, an historical address by General J. G. Wilson, some interesting reminiscences and a dozen or more portraits. The papers themselves are arranged by Mr. Severance chronologically under appropriate headings

and consist chiefly of legislative speeches, political addresses and private correspondence, in the selection of which the editor has shown excellent judgment, excluding the trivial or local matter which is too often allowed to cumber the pages of historical society publications. In both volumes few errata have been noticed and only a few slight errors, such as the misplacing of a letter in January, 1840, whose contents show that it belongs in 1841, and the misreading of the names of Dr. Gamaliel Bailey in a letter of April, 1844.

The character of the papers thus collected is a reflection of the mind of Millard Fillmore, than whom no more conventional writer of English can well be imagined. We are told that "Pope was his model and the *Essay on Man* was his idea of verse. He thought Shakespeare much overrated", and we find him writing and speaking with clearness and directness but without a spark of vivacity, humor, or imagination. With the exception of a long speech on the tariff of 1842 and an elaborate essay on the slavery situation which was at first intended to be included in the annual message of 1852, the documents in these volumes are brief businesslike utterances. From the succession of such letters, addresses and political speeches, one can follow the career of Fillmore from the school-house at Aurora, through the New York legislature, the federal House of Representatives, the comptrollership of New York, the vice-presidency and the presidency, to the years of honorable retirement as first citizen of Buffalo; and one may learn how a man without originality, breadth, personal magnetism or eloquence may through sheer sturdiness and steadiness of character, prosaic good sense and personal kindness and dignity of bearing maintain himself as the representative and leader of a community. Fillmore was a born conservative, with a mind wholly at ease within the shelter of a few clear beliefs. He worshipped the Constitution, the law and the existing order as a whole; he deplored slavery and condemned secession, but throughout the whole sectional contest he never ceased to regard the orderly, legal conduct of affairs as the sufficient goal of political effort. From his utterances one may gather significant examples of this point of view, and in this, to a large extent, is the value of the publication—a representation of the typical Northern conservative. In the crisis of 1850 and the later controversy over the Fugitive Slave Law, Fillmore's conduct, as revealed in these papers, shows neither timidity nor weakness but only caution and a desire to act the legal, constitutional part. Unmoved by the passions of the Southerners or the anger of the Free Soilers, his unionism seems pale and thin as compared with the strong flame burning in the speeches of Webster and Clay. Singularly cool-headed, he seems to have felt anger only over some violation of law, and the only strong epithets in the two volumes are applied to the unseating of Whig congressmen by the Democratic majority, "a damning deed of infamy". Individuals he rarely condemns, and even when, in 1848, his long friendship with Thurlow Weed came to an end, his

letters were almost devoid of bitterness. This rupture with Weed, it should be added, had one unfortunate result in terminating the series of letters which throw light upon the history of the New York Whig party and show Fillmore in the midst of political intrigue as steadily loyal and strikingly lacking in personal ambition. This poise he kept to the end, even when condemning Lincoln's administration and voting for McClellan. On the whole, one derives from these papers an increased respect for the honest conservatism of the man's character and a deepened sense of his limitations as a statesman.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Jefferson Davis. By WILLIAM E. DODD, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies, edited by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1907. Pp. 396.)

THIS is the eighth issue of the so-called *American Crisis Biographies*, of which the ninth, the life of *Alexander H. Stephens* by Louis Pendleton, has since appeared. Professor Oberholtzer, the editor of the series, stated in his announcement that it would be impartial in character, "Southern writers having been assigned to Southern subjects and Northern writers to Northern subjects", all belonging to that younger generation which has grown up since the close of the great struggle, and "thus assuring freedom from any suspicion of wartime prejudice". This is a somewhat violent assumption; as is more strikingly apparent in Bruce's *Lee* and Pendleton's *Stephens* than in the volume now under consideration. Throughout this life of the Confederate president Professor Dodd evinces two of the great essentials of a successful writer of biography. He is thoroughly sympathetic with his subject; and yet throughout judicial in tone. The critical attitude he has assumed towards Mr. Davis has, indeed, excited more or less adverse comment in what was once the Confederacy; but nevertheless Professor Dodd endeavors throughout to do discriminating justice to one whom he properly regards, and who will unquestionably hereafter be regarded, as a great historical character.

The author is not always accurate in his statements, as is apparent at several points in his account of the capture of Davis; and he sometimes indulges in rather sweeping generalizations. A marked example of this last is in his extraordinary statement (p. 47) that Mr. John C. Calhoun was during his long prominence in political life at Washington, lasting over forty years—from the War of 1812 to his death in 1850—"perhaps the only really prominent figure in the social and political life of the capital who was never known to drink to excess". Considering that James Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin van Buren, John Marshall, Joseph Story, Winfield Scott, Lewis Cass, and divers others equally easy of mention, were during that period beyond question "really prominent figures in the social and political